l: Karsten--424-425 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 778 (1928-29)

"The Indians, in general, have comparatively few objects which are directly connected with their religious beliefs. Effigies or images of the spirits or demons are not made, the latter only being represented in ornamental paintings, and masks are unknown. The Jibaros have one material object of paramount religious significance, the head-trophy or tsantsa, which, as we have seen, is, by the ceremonies of the great victory-feast, changed into a real fetish..... [425]

There are various other fetishes or amulets of minor importance, most of which consist of small stones of peculiar form or colour. A great magical power is ascribed to the crystals or brilliant stones called kaya wincha and námúra used by the sorcerers. These too have been mentioned before (p. 404). I only add that the kaya wincha are also used as prophylactics, especially against chills. The wonder-working stone is put into a small gourd containing juice of tobacco, a conjuration is muttered over it and the medicine is drunk. It is supposed to have the power of making the patient warm inside and of protecting him against chills. Again, the sacred stone of the Earth-mother Nungüi plays an important part in agriculture. It is a small round stone of red or brown colour and has nothing particular in its outward appearance. The Jibaro women who use it at planting the manioc, however, ascribe to it a supernatural origin. It is received during the natéma intoxication, in the way I shall describe in the chapter on divination."

2: Stirling--75 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 778

"To understand the motives behind the preparation of tsantsas it is necessary to realize that the tsantsa possesses tsarutama or magical power in much the same manner as did the prepared scalps or the sacred masks of the North American Indians. Properly cared for, they were agents for the good of the possessors. Improperly treated, they were powerful factors for misfortune. Anguasha, the famous head hunter of the Yaupe, explained that the tsantsa was a trophy which indicated that the maker had properly fulfilled the obligation to his lineage in taking blood revenge and therefore possessing it would act for his good fortune as it would please the spirits of his ancestors."

2: Stirling--102-103 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 292, 778

"Jivaro men also wear a girdle made from human hair called 'indashi acacho.' Tufts of human hair taken from the head of a courageous Jivaro who has died are attached by means of a resinous gum to a woven cotton tape. These girdles are supposed to possess magical power which transmits to the wearer some of the qualities of the orig-[103]inal owner of the hair. The manufacture of them involves definite taboos and practices on this account. While at work on the girdle the maker accounts the most noteworthy feats accomplished by the original owner of the hair and upon completing his task he holds a small feast, during which he dances while wearing the girdle and sings songs calculated to give him additional strength and courage."

2: Stirling--103 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 778, 832

"The women frequently wear on the breast an amulet which they call 'napue.' This consists of a collection of objects which are supposed to be beneficial in producing sexual attraction and in holding the affection of the woman's mate. These objects consist of certain perfumed herbs, manatee teeth, bird bones, and similar miscellaneous objects. While collecting and attaching each object to the napue the woman sings and prays for assistance from each spirit represented in the amulet."

2: Stirling--103 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 778, 825

"Both men and women occasionally wear about the wrists and ankles narrow circlets made from the skin of a small variety of green snake which are supposed to protect the wearer against evil influences in the forest. There are numerous variations to be found among the ornaments worn by both sexes, but as a rule they conform rather closely to the types enumerated above."

13: Rivet--248-249 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796, 778

The exact meaning of the feast of the tsantsas is difficult to determine. However, it seems that it may well be a kind of reparation toward the dead, that it has the meaning of an expiatory ceremony. In fact, the tsantsa thereupon becomes a veritable fetich which assures its possessor, his relatives and associates, an abundance of good things, the fertility of fields, the prosperity of the family and the tribe, victory over his enemies and immortality (1). According to Barriero, it will serve equally well as an oracle, when it is interrogated by an individual [249] under the influence of natema; moreover, when the crop is not large or when the domestic animals are not prolific, the women have the so-called supplication feast, in which they dance singly, one holding on to the other, the old man carrying the idol; if the ceremony has no result, they cut off the hair of the mummy and throw it into the woods (2).

---

1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 119.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.

28: Tessman--360 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 778

Karsten (The Religion etc. pp. 142 ff.) talks about the medicines. One such medicine is the mummified human head (tsantsa); other medicines are shiny stones, the brown stone of the Earth Mother Nungüi, stones and lumps of hair out of the stomachs of animals (hunting medicine), seeds, etc., which are worn as pendants, jaguar teeth for warriors and, finally, the red and black body paint.

30: Franco--141 [5] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 778

The tzhantzha, we have said, fulfills a religious purpose; although its precise meaning is very difficult to interpret. The tzhantzha is a fetish that guarantees abundance, fertility, good fortune of the kindred and tribe, victory over enemies and evil to its owner, his family and friends; it bestows immortality, and serves as oracle to whomever interrogates it drinking the 'natema', an overstimulating and dream-producing vegetal liquor. If in repeated instances it fails in its power, the hair is shaved off and the head is thrown in the forest or river.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

183 182 128 can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nunui, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakani*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be 794 the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *ekets* wakani, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[5]

[194] Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. [198] "Wakani" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakani is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has [154] been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

[161] The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be [164] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is [152] not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[6] [154] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of any cause whatever, including contagious disease.

[216] A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do [568] not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [208] arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that extra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

[350] A boy begins wearing an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac- [185] companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred [198] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander [185] about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pil- [216] grims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

794 [194] If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about mid- night to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[6]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakaram*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[7] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare person who receives arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forests as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[8] The departing arutam souls reportedly

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam *souls* simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing proces-

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jivaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[9] The Jivaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the *nekás wakani*, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jivaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jivaro in terms of their total native belief system.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[10]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as a vision quest, a guardian spirit, a ritual soul multiple souls, a variety of generalized ancestor worship, reincarnation, soul-loss, soul-capture, nonhumanistic spirit possession, and a concept of personally-acquired supernatural power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and drinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jivaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jivaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jivaro people. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

The "arutam" dealt with here is the "aruisma" of Karsten (1935: 648-51) and the "tsaruisma" of Stirling (1938: 115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jivaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954: 25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jivaro dialect.

Karsten (1954: 25) has stated, "The word *aruisa*, or *aruisma*, in the Jivaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *aruisma* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, and *aruisa* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935: 650). Although Karsten (1935: 648-50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

While Stirling (1938: 115) recognizes a similarity between his "tsaruisma" arutam and concepts of the same type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsaruisma" in the form itself or that "it gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jivaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other beings. Each arutam

12:Harner E-9 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

g English ng in sing (followed by a hard g sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish p (voiced like English b when following a nasal consonant, tolerant when preceding r; palatized when following t or l plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish r
s Spanish s
t English sh
ts English ts in cats
v Spanish v (voiced like Spanish d when following a nasal consonant, palatized when following t or l plus a nasal consonant)
w English w (but voiced like English v when adjacent to i)
y Spanish y

Unstressed vowels restricted to ultimate syllables are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

* A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

* The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History, and by the American Anthropological Association (NSF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

* I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

* Anuash may also be pronounced *anuiash*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1956) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

* Jivaro faith in the existence of *arutam* souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Rio Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

* One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco juice. Usually this is a person who has never seen *arutam* and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from smoke in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence.

* One exception is the *kuntuk arutam* which only wounders absorb when touched.

* Persons who have seen *arutam* can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

* There is also a rare *supay arutam*, *sawap*, whose soul is not so easily retained and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

* The *arutam* soul resident on the body of a person is not his own soul or any permanent spiritual part of him, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

* Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to demonstrate his *arutam* power by being forceful in speech and gesture.

* Wounds may be alternatively pronounced *wasaka*.

* When a man does not eat all the heart of a person he has sacrificed (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's animal is delayed in escaping through the mouth. Then the murderer hopes to reach home before the escaping soul can catch him.

* A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tsantsa-shrinking process. I wish to emphasize that any comparison between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material.

* The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out.

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves.

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsentsemā* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsentsemā* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

context of a four-day feast and dance, *uči auk* ("child swallowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe dietary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemă* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing, from the Jívaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to depend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp. 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jívaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any, while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yafi*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yafi*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

554 888 778 789 756 While the concept of the *untsi* ideally encompasses all of the characteristics described, it is possible to acquire the designation with no formal qualifications other than simply having lived long enough to exhibit a few gray hairs and to have many grandchildren. Such an achievement receives respect as a sign of supernatural power, and an elderly *untsi* of this sort is believed to have the ability to curse to death anyone who incurs his anger. No other kind of person is considered to possess this ability. Partly out of fear of being cursed, young men in the neighborhood assist him in land clearing and other tasks when he requests their aid. [701] While the elderly *untsi*'s opinion is normally respected, he usually is not a real leader unless he is also outstanding as a killer, shaman, or good host. Thus the true "big men" are distinguished not only by longevity but by real leadership and generosity.

Kakaram, *the "Powerful Ones"*

554 756 701 Given such factors as the absence of any formal political organization and even of unilineal descent groups, as well as the pervasive belief in shamanistically induced illness and death, the conflict over women, and the emphasis on retaliatory sanctions and feuding, it should not be unexpected that the leaders in Jivaro society are outstanding killers and shamans. Although such leadership is informal, almost all neighborhoods have at least one or two noted killers and a few superior shamans who are valued as protectors of their neighboring relatives, or at least of those with whom they are on friendly terms. Such leadership roles are earned and, in the case of the killers, acquired literally through life-and-death struggle.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *uwai*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakaram*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[2]

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for trophies. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his.

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even though the woman serving it dips her hand into the bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate probably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall.
It emerges where the mountains become stone.
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The normal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the surface manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hallucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hopefully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child misbehaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hallucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist. Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen to provide them with the essential contact with the supernatural plane.

/p. 134/

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakarawa*) and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakani* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam Soul

Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakani* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakani* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam* soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain *arutam* souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of those souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tau, tau, tau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

possibly falling off a cliff or into a river and drowning. The other pilgrims in the party do not take the substance themselves, partially so that they can protect the *maikua* drinker from running off. They also believe that an *arutam* is not likely to come to a vision seeker if he is a coward, which would be evidenced if he were unwilling to take *Datura* alone and enter the normally invisible world unaccompanied.

If the *arutam* seeker is fortunate, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the *arutam*. Shortly the *arutam* appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common *arutam* include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the *arutam* seeker. When the apparition arrives to within twenty or thirty feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the *arutam* instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[6]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an *arutam*, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same *arutam* he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

787 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
• 778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
774 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-
778 confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called
[828] *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts.
[751] His newly acquired power increases his resistance to conta-
[761] gious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[8] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

778 When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
721 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily
774 only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing expedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father.
[562] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by
[278] means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

each man in turn to describe the *arutam* that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his *arutam* leaves his body forever, to roam the forest again as a wind, for *arutam* souls "are satisfied with one killing."[8] The departing *arutam* souls reportedly generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jívaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an *arutam* soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his *arutam* soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new *arutam* upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, usually without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new *arutam* souls, and without new *arutam* souls, they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an *arutam* again and thus to get himself a new soul.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 The acquisition of such a new *arutam* soul not only brings
778 the new power, or *kakarma*, of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to possession of not more than two *arutam* souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old *arutam* souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same *arutam* soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander
[754] nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before
[721] the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

754 Since a man with an *arutam* soul cannot die as the result of
774 physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interper-
721 sonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his *arutam* soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natema*, beating a hollowed-out log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's *arutam* soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[7]

774 The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus
721

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *wakani* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *wakani* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *wakani* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *wakani* as well as containing it. As

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it
• 778 is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to
765 other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa*
789 aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he
796 wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to
[562] him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

765 In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through
628 inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which
727 may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri huara* inter-
721 tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighbor-hood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitat-
[532] ing him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

[774] This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being
[796] believed that the dead enemy's *muisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampay*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampay* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampay* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampay* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampay* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor inside the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of rain.

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakani*, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam* soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society.

The *arutam* soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; non-shamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally acquired impersonal power, *kakarma*, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian *mana*.

The concept of the *nuisak* furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. One may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in physical life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the *nuisak* and the *arutam* soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

Shamanism and Illness

The Jívaro believe that witchcraft is the cause of the vast majority of illnesses and non-violent deaths. Practically the only diseases not attributed to witchcraft are "white man's diseases" (*nayurá*), normally of an epidemic nature,

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natema*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natema* drink among the Jivaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the "real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jivaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natema*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is attributed to Tsuṇi, the mythological first shaman who is believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is described as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*nantar*) which are

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuji.

Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jivaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken *natema*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natema*. The Jivaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth. With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experiences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

to fulfill this desire, this means he will become a "bewitching" shaman (*tsentsak*, or *pakanch* muisha). If, on the other hand, the novice can control his impulse and swallow this first *tsentsak*, he will become a curing shaman (*pusar* muisha). This will only be possible if the shaman who gave him his *tsentsak* is a curer himself. 754 756 798

If the shaman who gave the *tsentsak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be compelled to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer. [934]

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsentsak*. Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsentsak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Certain small spiders become *nawi*, a special kind of *tsentsak*. Different types of *tsentsak* are used to cause different kinds and degrees of illness, and the greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability. [755]

According to Jivaro concepts, each *tsentsak* has a natural and a supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking the drug *natema*. But the supernatural and "true" aspect of 778 276 787

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natema*. When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects, the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known individual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most, fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

To bewitch, the shaman takes *natema* and secretly approaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jivaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemä*, sees the *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole vunerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears to be simply a tarantula.

Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical darts, *anamuk*, to create supernatural animals that attack a victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsentsak*, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda, which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test involves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of *natemä*, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at the point where its two main branches join. If his strength and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is invisible to an observer who is not under the influence of the hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible, he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities of *natemũ*, tobacco water, and the extract of yet another drug, *piripiri*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak*, he can safely cut down his consumption of these other substances.

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful.

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to treat a patient, his first task is to see if the illness is due to witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natemũ*, tobacco water, and *piripiri* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness (see Plate 23).

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

he alerts his *tsentsak* by whistling the tune of the curing song; after about a quarter of an hour, he starts singing. A shaman's curing songs tend to be self-encouraging exhortations such as the following:

I, I, I, I, I,
I, I, I, I.
I am like Tsugi.[14]
I am like Tsugi.
When I drink *natemá*
All my body becomes cold.
And I easily suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds,
And thus I have power.
I drank *natemá*.
I drank enough to have power.
All my body is cold.
Therefore I have power to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

There is a very large body of water.
Thus I am like a great body of water.
I have a crown, but of gold,
Brilliant.[15]
How beautiful it appears
When I drink *natemá*.
Therefore it is easy to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds.
Therefore I cure easily.
I have the *tsentsak* of *natemá*.
I am seated, but I am very cold
And there are many breezes.[16]
I, I, I, I.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

755
539
778

My *tsentsak* are like birds
And the wings and bodies are dreams.
With these I am now ready.
My *tsentsak* are sitting all over me[17]
And as I become cold
I shall have power.
I can easily suck out *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am like some *payé* of the Río Napo.[18]
Therefore I have power to suck out *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

Wait, wait a moment.
Now I am going to become dizzy.
I will see what I am intoxicated.

755
778

When he is ready to suck, the shuman regurgitates two *tsentsak* into the sides of his throat and mouth. These must be identical to the one he has seen in the patient's body. He holds one of these in the front of the mouth and the other in the rear. They are expected to catch the supernatural aspect of the magical dart that the shaman sucks out of the patient's body. The *tsentsak* nearest the shaman's lips is supposed to incorporate the sucked-out *tsentsak* essence within itself. If, however, this supernatural essence should get past it, the second magical dart in the mouth blocks the throat so that the intruder cannot enter the interior of the shaman's body. If the curer's two *tsentsak* were to fail to catch the supernatural essence of the *tsentsak*, it would pass down into the shaman's stomach and kill him. Trapped thus within the mouth, this essence is shortly caught by, and incorporated into, the material substance of one of the curing shaman's *tsentsak*. He then "vomits" out this object and dis-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

755 778 plays it to the patient and his family, saying, "Now I have sucked it out. Here it is."

The non-shamans think that the material object itself is what has been sucked out, and the shaman does not disillusion them. At the same time, he is not lying, because he knows that the only important thing about a *tsentsak* is its supernatural aspect, or essence, which he sincerely believes he has removed from the patient's body. To explain to the layman that he already had these objects in his mouth would serve no fruitful purpose and would prevent him from displaying such an object as proof that he had cured the patient. Without incontrovertible evidence, he would not be able to convince the patient and his family that he had effected the cure and must be paid.

The ability of the shaman to suck depends largely upon the quantity and strength of his own *tsentsak*, of which he may have hundreds. His magical darts assume their supernatural aspect as spirit helpers when he is under the influence of *natema*, and he sees them as a variety of zoomorphic forms hovering over him, perching on his shoulders, sticking out of his skin, and helping to suck the patient's body. He must drink tobacco water every few hours to "keep them fed" so that they will not leave him. He will also appear, to another shaman under the influence of *natema*, to have a gold, red and greenish "crown" above his head (see Plate 24).

755 778 276 787 776

The curing shaman must also deal with any *pasuk* that may be in the patient's vicinity for the purpose of casting more darts. He drinks additional amounts of *natema* in order to see them and engages in *tsentsak* duels with them if they are present. While the *pasuk* is enclosed in iron armor, the shaman himself has his own armor, composed of his many *tsentsak*. As long as he is under the influence of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

755
778
276
776
[787]

natemă, these magical darts cover his body as a protective shield, and are on the lookout for any enemy *tsentsak* headed towards their master. When these *tsentsak* see such a missile coming, they immediately close up together at the point where the enemy dart is attempting to penetrate, and thereby repel it.

If the curer finds *tsentsak* entering the body of his patient after he has killed the *pasuk*, he suspects the presence of a *wakanī* bird. The shaman drinks *maikua* (*Datura*), since it is more powerful than *natemă*, as well as tobacco water, and silently sneaks into the forest to hunt and kill the bird with *tsentsak*. When he succeeds, the curer returns to the patient's home, blows all over the house to get rid of the "atmosphere" created by the numerous *tsentsak* sent by the bird, and completes his sucking of the patient. Even after all the *tsentsak* are extracted, the shaman may remain another night at the house to suck out any "dirtiness" (*paburi*) still inside. In the cures which I have witnessed, this sucking is a most noisy process, accompanied by deep, but dry, vomiting.

After sucking out a *tsentsak*, the shaman puts it into a little container. He does not swallow it, because it is not his own magical dart and would therefore kill him. Later, he throws the *tsentsak* into the air, and it flies back to the shaman who sent it originally into the patient. *Tsentsak* also fly back to a shaman at the death of a former apprentice who had originally received them from him. Besides receiving "old" magical darts unexpectedly in this manner, the shaman may have *tsentsak* thrown at him by a bewitcher. Accordingly, shamans constantly drink tobacco water at all hours of the day and night. Although the tobacco water is not truly hallucinogenic, it produces a narcotized state, which is believed necessary to keep one's *tsentsak* ready to repel any other magical

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

755 darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without
• 778 taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares
276 the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but
796 regularly, he must drink *natemä* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

756 While curing under the influence of *natemä*, the curing
787 shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Gener-
[276] ally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

756 Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase
778 *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in
754 power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other shamans, particularly *payü* (see pp. 119–20).

[276] Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natemä*, and, using his *tsentsak*, creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

bow. A shaman who has had his *tsentsak* taken away in this manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks *natema*. The sudden loss of his *tsentsak* will tend to make him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a bewitcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by his experience, he can again purchase *tsentsak* from some other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain." Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them. Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead, although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned in the normal course of events, family members will return when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position. An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is buried in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment.

If the deceased male still had a *tsuntsu* in his possession, it is interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way.

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects, such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above.

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *nekás wakani*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished.

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *untsi* with renown as a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is entombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

766 against the center post in the men's end of the abandoned
779 house, facing the doorway. A chonta palm stave stockade is
• [778] erected all around the body, about one foot from it. A small opening is made in the front of the stockade through which is inserted the magical balsa wood staff the deceased used in bathing at the sacred waterfall. The staff touches a bare spot, left uncovered, on the chest of the corpse and extends horizontally out through the barrier.

766 In the adjacent forest, the sons build small lean-to's, each
779 about 300 yards away in the four cardinal directions. Each
823 night a son can come to the abandoned house to seek an *arutam* soul created by the dead father which, hopefully, is wandering in the vicinity. The seeker must come alone, without a copal torch, and in the utter darkness of the house touch the magical staff, follow it with his hand until he contacts
[276] the dead man's chest, and say, "I am your son, Father." He then goes out of the house to the north lean-to where he drinks tobacco water (nothing stronger is used) and awaits an *arutam* for about two hours. If none appears, he returns to the house, repeats the ritual and goes to the south lean-to, where he takes more tobacco water. The same procedure is repeated for the east and west lean-to's, dawn finding the *arutam* seeker at the last place unless he has already been successful.

On the subsequent night, another son, or even a son-in-law of the deceased, may visit the corpse, explain his kin relationship and attempt to see an *arutam*. According to several accounts, the vision is often seen not only in the lean-to's, but in the house, where the *arutam* souls are believed to come back to visit. Usually the corpse is left in this upright position only two days and then buried in the usual manner, although there are cases where it has been left longer.

34 Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next
628 day.

The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one
682 of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight
with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the
[684] two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not
762 surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he
[628] does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather sud-
[682] denly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or
[774] later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently
[778] surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jívaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hanging from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide
[593] by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes,
[684] when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

as a "recruiter" to visit other neighborhoods to invite men to join the expedition. The recruiter personally visits every house where he thinks he may find a willing participant. When he arrives in a new neighborhood, he first visits the house of a known friendly relative. The latter acts as his protector and takes him to visit every likely household in the locality. Then, if there are adjacent neighborhoods where the relative has a friendly kinsman but the recruiter does not, the relative may send a son along with him to protect and introduce him to potential recruits. In this manner, a recruiter can canvass a dozen neighborhoods, although generally the number is only half that many. When the recruiter reaches the most distant neighborhood and prepares to return home, he sends a new recruit ahead on the return trail to notify the people of the next neighborhood to prepare for the arrival of the war party. The men of the next neighborhood thus have time to get ready to leave on the expedition, and also the women can prepare food and beer for the arriving group. The other neighborhoods along the route are similarly notified as the expedition progresses. Finally, all members of the war party, normally numbering about thirty or forty, arrive at the house of the *wea*. As each enters the house, he engages in a ritualistic shouting chant (*enermartin*) with the *wea*. During the chanting each man stamps back and forth in turn, thrusting his shotgun in rhythm, as though threatening the other speaker. This chant, which primarily focuses on establishing the identity and demonstrating the supernatural power of the speakers, is also used when complete strangers happen to encounter one another on a trail.[2]

The party may spend two to four days at the house, preparing rations for the trail. On the day of departure, they wake a few hours before dawn, form two lines and perform the chant simultaneously until close to daybreak. Then

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also loot the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsăŋrum*) shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *činčipi* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws the latter into the river "as a gift for *paŋi*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

776 •
727
765

additives) for no more than about half an hour (otherwise "the hair would fall out"). The skin, already reduced perhaps by half, is lifted out with a stick which is then thrust into the ground so that the trophy will dry. Then the skin is turned inside out and all the flesh adhering to it is scraped off with a knife. The scraped skin is turned right side out and the slit in the rear is sewn together with string made from the inner bark of the *kumai* palm. A vine is also sewn around the inside of the base of the neck and the lips are tied with the same kind of string.

765
532
727
778

Five or six stones about two inches in diameter are heated in the fire. Each, in turn, is lifted with a four-pronged stick into the "sack" formed by the head skin and rolled around inside. When the stone cools, the head-taker grasps the *tsantsa* by the hair in order to turn it over to drop the stone back into the fire. When the skin is too small for pebbles to be rolled around in it, sand is heated in the food bowl and substituted for the pebbles, the inverted *tsantsa* being covered with a large leaf to keep in the heat. Periodically, the head-taker massages the skin to help the drying process and to affect the shape. The vine around the base of the neck is gradually drawn in closer so that the neck will become reduced in proportion to the head. After about an hour of this additional work with the heated sand, the expedition resumes its running trip homeward, stopping every afternoon for about two or three hours to continue the hot sand treatment of the skins. In addition, a machete is heated red-hot and pressed against the lips to dry them. Then three chonta palm pins are put through the lips and are lashed together with string of the *kumai* inner bark. The skin is also rubbed daily with finely powdered balsa wood charcoal so that it will become blackened and thus prevent the *nunkui* of the murdered man from seeing out (see pp. 143–46). A large, hard red seed

[774]

14:Marner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

532 765 727 778 [796] sometimes is also placed under each eyelid, filling any slight aperture which may remain.

A total of approximately six days of such intermittent preparation is normally involved in the preparation of the *tsantsa* until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the first *tsantsa* celebration or feast will take place. So that the head-taker will be able to hang the *tsantsa* from his neck in the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick of *chonta* palm on the inside.

727 624 796 [554] [342] When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from which they departed, they do not go directly to the *tsoa*'s house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young man is sent to advise the *tsoa* that "now we are coming with plenty of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuara. The *tsoa* then sends him and others to inform households in his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell them to come in two days to attend the first *tsantsa* celebration (*tsantsa*) which is held at the newly built house of the *tsoa*.

[765] The *tsoa* also immediately goes to visit the war party at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his *tsantsa*, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for inspection by the *tsoa*, who parts the fabric, bends down and smells each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid, the *tsoa* returns home. In two days, the war party follows, is joined at the *tsoa*'s house by their relatives and neighbors, and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the *tsantsa* celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

34 Harner E-6. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

765
554
571
796

an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jivaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

796
765
619
[721]

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jivaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsami'i*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

[273]
[535]

[836]
[837]

765
778 •
774
578
796
[619]
[273]

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578
765 *tsantsa*, for increasing the power of women who are members
796 of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is
immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by
[774] the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been
• [778] selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowl-
[554] edge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, al-
[624] though less common, are similarly halted by the women, led
[562] by the female ceremonial leader, the *ubá*, who is selected on a
basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual,
765 and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the
796 safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to
727 the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa*
feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of
[619] their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of kill-
[571] ing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration,
[181] centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a
[533] common enemy. The intimate interaction between the eupho-
[535] ria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered
[539] enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Ćuwi[5] tells me
Ćuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Ćuwi tells me
Ćuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Ćuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level.

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jivaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jivaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jivaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available.

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge.

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls. First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has virtually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tunurá, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguasa region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 177 765 532 727 778 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.